



UNIVERSITY OF
CAMBRIDGE

The Literary Heritagescape: Translating Literary Settings into Heritage Sites



Georgia Rose Ashworth
Downing College

Department of Archaeology: Heritage and Museums
August 30th, 2019

This dissertation is submitted for the Degree of Master of Philosophy

Preface

This dissertation is the result of my own work and includes nothing which is the outcome of work done in collaboration, except where specifically indicated in the text. The dissertation does not exceed the 15,000-word limit stipulated by the Degree Committee for the Faculty of Human, Social and Political Sciences.

Abstract

This dissertation examines the particular nature of setting-based literary heritage sites. These sites are in a unique position because of their connection to fiction. Three case studies are used to represent a range of setting-based literary heritage sites: Ashdown Forest, The Sherlock Holmes Museum, and Green Gables Heritage Place. The nature of these sites is examined through site observation of tangible and interpreted elements at each site and discussed through three themes: Immersion, Boundaries, and Authenticity. These themes draw from and re-examine current understanding of the heritagescape, and bring forth the challenges of mixing fiction and reality and the difficulties navigating traditional understandings of authenticity at these sites. This research shows how these sites can be analysed as heritage and do not need to be excluded because of their fictional connection. In fact, their unique position among heritage sites allows for new dimensions of the heritagescape to be considered and offers new understandings of how heritage is created and interpreted.

Acknowledgements

To my supervisor, the brilliant Professor Marie Louise Stig Sørensen, thank you for your endless grace and wisdom.

To the people who have been my support network throughout this dissertation and in life, from Cambridge to Canada, you know who you are, thank you.

To the staff at Green Gables Heritage Place, thank you for taking the time to be so welcoming and informative. To the educators at Ashdown Forest, your help was much appreciated. To the owners of Pooh Corner, your passion for Winnie-the-Pooh was inspiring.

Special thanks to my Uncle Martin and my brother Ben for making the trek down to Ashdown Forest with me, and to Jordyn, Leanne, and Sydney for being patient while I took in every inch of The Sherlock Holmes Museum.

I extend my gratitude to Downing College for providing a Travel Grant to help fund the fieldwork for this dissertation.

To Mum and Dad, thanks for supporting me through this degree and in life, for believing in me, and for the many books you read to me growing up.

Table of Contents

Preface	i
Abstract	ii
Acknowledgements	iii
Table of Contents	iv
List of Figures	v
Chapter I: Introduction	1
Chapter II: The State of the Art	5
Chapter III: Methods	11
Chapter IV: Immersion	18
Chapter V: Boundaries	34
Chapter VI: Authenticity	43
Chapter VII: Conclusion	55
Bibliography	59

List of Figures

Figure 1: Holmes and Watson’s Study at The Sherlock Holmes Museum.	21
Figure 2: Display case containing weapons from Holmes’s cases at The Sherlock Holmes Museum.	22
Figure 3: Wax figures of Mr. Charles Augustus Milverton and Lady Eva Blackwell at The Sherlock Holmes Museum.	23
Figure 4: A section of the “Inspiring Montgomery” exhibit at Green Gables Heritage Place ...	25
Figure 5: Anne’s bedroom in Green Gables House at Green Gables Heritage Place.	27
Figures 6, 7, 8: View approaching and entering “The Enchanted Place” as directed by the Pooh Walks from Gills Lap, Ashdown Forest	32
Figure 9: Fence at Green Gables Heritage Place with the quote “It’s delightful when your imaginations come true, isn’t it?”.	36
Figure 10: Pooh Sticks Bridge in Ashdown Forest.....	38
Figure 11: The Study at 221B Baker Street at the Sherlock Holmes Pub.	41
Figure 12: Green Gables House at Green Gables Heritage Place.	46
Figure 13: “Blue Plaque” outside The Sherlock Holmes Museum.	48
Figure 14: Memorial for Milne and Shepard in Ashdown Forest that references Ashdown Forest as the inspiration for the setting of “Winnie-the-Pooh”	52

*Note: All photos by author.

Chapter I: Introduction

Heritage is a concept and a category that has been notoriously difficult to define. While what Smith terms the “authorized heritage discourse” privileges heritage that is monumental, tangible, old, and judged to be scientifically and historically important and aesthetically pleasing (2006, p. 11), understandings of heritage continue to be expanded and redefined as different values are recognized and validated. “All at once heritage is everywhere,” writes Lowenthal (1998, p. xiii). As the field of heritage evolves, so too are understandings of heritage sites becoming more nuanced (Garden 2006, p. 273).

Great literature is often claimed and promoted by nations as part of their cultural heritage. For example, the London 2012 Olympic Opening Ceremony showcased an image of the United Kingdom on a global stage that was full of references to the country’s literary heritage. Because of the value literature holds as heritage, literary sites have been developed that connect literature and their authors to physical places. Eagle and Carnell write, “There is a fascination about places associated with writers that has often prompted readers to become pilgrims: to visit a birthplace and contemplate the surroundings of an author’s childhood, to see with fresh eyes places that inspired poems or books, to pay homage at a grave side or public memorial” (1977, p. v, quoted in Herbert 2001, p. 312).

This history of visiting places associated with writers and literature extends back at least to the Roman Empire, as attested by the record of Silius Italicus’s visits to the Roman poet Virgil’s tomb (Pliny Ep. 3.7.8). The “Grand Tour”, a cultural pilgrimage for young aristocrats through Europe

that gained popularity in the seventeenth century, is another early example of public interest in literary sites (Le Bel 2017, p. 59). During the nineteenth century literary heritage sites became more developed and began to receive more official recognition (Amey 2015, pp. 27-28).

Literary sites continue to amass heritage value. UNESCO's criteria for the selection of World Heritage Sites currently includes the opportunity for the inclusion of sites "associated with (...) literary works of outstanding universal significance" (although the Committee prefers this criterion to be used in conjunction with other criteria) (UNESCO n.d.a). Additionally, in 2004 UNESCO created the distinction of "City of Literature" as part of their Creative Cities Network, a distinction currently held by 29 cities around the world (n.d.b). Despite this, there remains limited research on literary sites as heritage.

Literary heritage sites can be broadly distinguished as being connected to the author or to the literature (or some combination). Sites that relate solely to the author, for example birthplaces, graves, memorials, biographical museums, and former homes, function similarly to heritage sites relating to any important historical or cultural figure. However, sites that connect to the literature directly, hereafter referred to as setting-based literary heritage sites, contain a unique aspect that is not associated with traditional heritage sites: fiction. These real, physical sites connect to an imaginary place, and beyond that, the value of the site is derived from this fictional connection. As Herbert explains, "Places acquire meanings from imaginative worlds, but these meanings and the emotions they engender are real to the beholder" (2001, p. 318).

Some setting-based literary heritage sites are pre-existing places that inspired a fictional setting, others are constructed places that were themselves inspired by a fictional setting. Sometimes sites contain a mix of pre-existing and constructed elements. There are often multiple levels of meaning that must be negotiated and prioritized at setting-based literary heritage sites:

biographical (the life of the author), historical (the history of the site), fictional (the literature and its setting) and physical (the tangible site itself). Setting-based literary heritage sites in their complexity offer interesting challenges to pre-existing conceptions of heritage, and in-depth research into the particular nature of these sites provides an opportunity to expand on understandings of heritage creation, heritage values, and the nature of heritage sites.

Critics of setting-based literary heritage sites view them as superficial, commercial enterprises and reduce them to ‘theme parks’ with the sole purpose of providing simple entertainment for monetary gain, however, these same ideas are echoed in criticism towards any heritage site open to tourism (for literary sites: Brouse 2002, p. 303; for heritage sites: Smith 2006, p. 33). Whether or not these sites are validated by authorizing bodies, there is strong evidence these sites arise from a widespread desire to associate fictional narratives with a physical place. After the publication of *Anne of Green Gables*, people began to visit the house that inspired it almost immediately, which at this point was still a home occupied by the Webb family. It was only much later when the site was eventually converted into a more official attraction (Fawcett & Cormack 2001, p. 695). Similarly, masses of people sent letters to Sherlock Holmes addressed to 221B Baker Street as soon as a new block was opened that included the address, long before the creation of The Sherlock Holmes Museum. The number of letters was so great that the Abbey

National Building Society that occupied the space had to hire someone to deal with the letters full-time (Stamp 2012).

The fact that setting-based literary heritage sites are non-traditional and push the boundaries of what is conceived of as heritage is precisely why they merit further research. This dissertation examines setting-based literary heritage sites through the lens of heritage with the aims of understanding how the experience of a fictional setting is enabled, how these sites can be conceived of in terms of heritagescapes, and the applicability of the concept of authenticity for sites that deal with fiction. Ultimately, this exploration of how various setting-based literary heritage sites function as heritage sites and discussion of their particular nature aims to produce a more nuanced understanding of heritage sites and the values associated with them.

Chapter II: The State of the Art

The Literature on Literary Heritage Sites

Scholarly attention to literary heritage sites has increased in the past decades but remains an underdeveloped field. While setting-based literary heritages sites are a subject that has received little attention within the field of Heritage Studies as of yet, it is a topic that has seen more discussion from other fields. In addition to Heritage Studies, much of the literature that follows is drawn from Tourism Studies, as well as Geography, Sociology, and Anthropology.

Herbert (2001) has contributed to current understandings of literary heritage sites and puts forward that managers of all heritage sites (inclusive of literary ones) use the physical attributes of a site as well as interpretive techniques in order to portray a particular set of images (p. 317), a view that fits with Garden's proposition about heritagescapes (2004; 2006; 2009). Herbert's research also examines the motivations of visitors to literary heritage sites and emphasizes that the site relies on the interpretation of the visitors in combination with and in reaction to the developers' intentions (2001, p. 317). In particular, Herbert shows that visitors to literary heritage sites are often less concerned with distinctions between fiction and reality than is generally expected from heritage sites (2001, p. 318).

Many researchers discuss the interaction of different actors in creating these sites. Le Bel has proposed that literary heritage sites consist of a "dialogue between the writer's texts, the narrative attached to place by the author and its highlighted presence in the landscape by specific social actors" (2017, p. 62). These social actors are identified as associations and museums, as

well as the visitors themselves (Le Bel 2007, p. 62). Amey similarly presents setting-based literary heritage sites as constructed on numerous planes: by site management through curation, by writers through their literature, by readers through their imagination, and additionally by media and public opinion (2015, p. 53).

Some scholars focus on the idea that these sites are created through visitation. McIntosh and Prentice write that visitors each produce their own version of the site by filling it with their own imaginings and meanings (1999, p. 607). Saretzki discusses literary trails as a way of actualizing heritage and describes how tourist readings of heritage messaging reproduce and modify discourses of heritage (2013, pp. 68-69). According to Saretzki, linking literature to cities in the form of literary trails stabilizes “the community- and identity-serving nature of heritage” (2013, p. 69). McLaughlin even proposes that people can actively create their own literary places by adding a fictional dimension to geographical sites (2016).

Other research examines how sites are presented by the management of the site. Fawcett and Cormack identify three ways literary sites are presented: modernist, a perspective following the notion that there is only one possible interpretation based on the truth, rationalist, which involves selecting certain elements to interpret in order to highlight desired meanings, and eclectic, in which visitors are free to build their own interpretation based on numerous possible interpretations (2001). This discussion paves the way for examining how literary sites can present in different ways, as this dissertation aims to do.

Many scholars note the unique situation of setting-based literary heritage sites as real physical spaces with an imaginary dimension (Amey 2015, p. 6; Herbert 2001; Hoppen et al. 2014, p. 45). In describing the relationship between fictional texts and the real places they represent and produce, MacLeod writes that imaginary and real places are interdependent and continuously affect one another; “imagined geographies are always producing real places and real places are always producing imagined geographies” (2010, p. 137). Robinson and Andersen describe these sites as existing on two levels at the same time, as actual physical sites and as representations of places described in fictional texts (2002, after Amey 2015, p. 35).

Reijnders (2010) proposes the idea of *lieux d’imagination*, based off of Nora’s *lieux de mémoire* (1989), to describe setting-based literary heritage sites. According to Reijnders, “Lieux d’imagination are physical points of reference, such as objects or places, which, for specific groups in the society, provide the opportunity to construct and subsequently cross the symbolic boundary between an ‘imagined’ and a ‘real’ world” (2010, p. 40). Similarly, Orr views the act of literary heritage as “grounded in a desire to map fictional worlds onto tangible spaces” as opposed to a direct engagement with what is “real” (2018, p. 246).

Curtis suggests that presenting fictional elements in factual ways causes confusion for visitors (1985, p. 11 after Tetley 1998, pp. 52-53). Conversely, Pocock concludes that visitors to the literary site of Haworth were much more interested in immersion into the fictional world of the literature than connecting to the authors (1987, p. 138).

Authenticity

The problematic nature of the concept of “authenticity” has triggered numerous discussions about its nature and application in heritage. Within Tourism Studies, several conceptions of authenticity have been developed that have been applied to heritage sites and literary heritage sites. Questions of authenticity are particularly relevant for literary heritage sites with a fictional dimension because of the distinctions that have been drawn between entertainment and heritage, and much of the existing research on literary heritage sites has attempted to address the complications that arise from applying authenticity to sites that deal with the imaginary.

Objective Authenticity

Based on longer standing discussions during the 19th century, Benjamin developed the concept of “aura” as a quality that was lost with reproduction and took the position that “the presence of the original is the prerequisite to the concept of authenticity” (1969, p. 3). In museum contexts, “authentic” has been taken to mean an object that is “what it appears to be or is claimed to be” (Trilling 1972, p. 93, cited in Cohen 1988, p. 374). The *Venice Charter* of 1964 reinforced this idea of material authenticity and the emphasis on the “genuine” and “original” (Jones 2009, p. 3). This understanding of authenticity remains important in UNESCO’s criteria for World Heritage Sites (2000) and in many official heritage designations. This concept of authenticity was applied to tourist sites by early scholars MacCannell (1973) and Boorstin (1961) and this form of authenticity, pertaining to the scientifically verifiable originality of an object, is referred to within Tourism Studies as *objective authenticity* (Wang 1999). This type of authenticity is alternatively known as *cool authenticity* (Cohen & Cohen 2012).

Constructive Authenticity

Later scholars began to consider authenticity as something socially constructed and variable (Cohen, 1988). This concept is referred to as *constructive authenticity* and is based on the idea that objects become authentic through the meanings given to them (Wang 1999; Cohen 1988; Amey 2015). While objective authenticity refers to the authenticity of originals, constructive authenticity refers to symbolic authenticity that can be applied differently by different actors (Wang 1999). The consideration of this new conception of authenticity was reflected in The Nara Document on Authenticity, which posits that authenticity cannot be judged with fixed criteria and that heritage properties must be considered and evaluated within their individual cultural contexts (UNESCO et al. 1993).

Cohen additionally presents the concept of *emergent authenticity*; the idea that even the most contrived, commodified gimmick can become authentic over time (1988). This idea is also touched upon in Lowenthal's *The Past is a Foreign Country* (1985).

Gfeller expands on the idea of constructive authenticity and argues that heritage is not a “thing”, but rather a “cultural and social practice through which objects, places, or practices rooted in the past are endowed with meaning”, meaning that even the authenticity of tangible immovable cultural heritage is context specific (2017, p. 762).

Bruner (1994) presents a framework of authenticity that combines ideas from objective and constructive theorists. Bruner divides authenticity into four categories: verisimilitude (something is credible enough to conform to visitor expectations, authentic in the eye of the beholder),

genuineness (a complete and immaculate simulation of the original), originality (the original, not a copy or reproduction) and authority (duly authorized, legitimized and officially recognized by an authorizing body) (1994). This framework allows for multiple forms and levels of authenticity to be present at a single site.

Existential Authenticity

Objective and constructive authenticity both refer to authenticity as it relates to objects and the physical aspects of a heritage site. Wang proposes a third type, *existential authenticity*, which is activity-related and refers to a state of being activated by tourist activities (1999). This authenticity is also sometimes referred to as *hot authenticity* (Cohen & Cohen 2012). Wang further breaks down this category by *intra-personal authenticity*, which refers to “self-making” or an experience of the visitor’s own authentic self, and *inter-personal authenticity* which refers to the experience of community and family ties among groups of visitors (1999). McIntosh and Prentice apply this concept to argue that authenticity can be present at sites that are often considered inauthentic, such as historic theme parks (1999).

Related to existential authenticity is the idea of *performative authenticity* proposed by Zhu (2012). Zhu argues that the practice of “becoming” through performance can be a form of authentication by embodying meanings (2012, p. 1496). Gothie applies this idea to *Anne of Green Gables* heritage sites, and suggest that by wearing Anne’s iconic red braids, tourists can temporarily inhabit the “idealized body” of Anne at her moment of arrival as a child and an outsider (2016, p. 418).

Chapter III: Methods

Methodological Framework

Garden's concept of the heritagescape provides a framework for the analysis of heritage sites as landscapes. It uses the principles of boundaries, visibility, and cohesion to evaluate the tangible components of the site in terms of their relative success in creating a sense of place (2004; 2006; 2009). This framework forms the starting point of my research. Applying the ideas of the heritagescape to setting-based literary heritage sites brings up the themes of *immersion* and *boundaries*. *Immersion* draws from the idea of the heritagescape as a whole in its ability to create a sense of place, while *boundaries* rethinks the particular heritagescape principle of boundaries in terms of the special nature of setting-based literary heritage sites. My final theme *authenticity* is drawn from the particular challenges that come with creating a sense of authenticity at sites with a fictional component.

Case Studies

My methods are based around a case study approach. A case study approach was important for this research because setting-based literary heritage sites represent a large range of sites with different levels of connection to the author and the literature, and different interpretive styles. By using multiple case studies, this research is able to explore the diverse and multifaceted nature of setting-based literary heritage sites and allows conclusions to be drawn from real, active sites.

The case studies I have selected and the literature associated with them are as follows: The Sherlock Holmes Museum in London, England connected to the *Sherlock Holmes* book series by

Sir Arthur Conan Doyle, Ashdown Forest in Sussex, England connected to the *Winnie-the-Pooh* book series by A. A. Milne, and Green Gables Heritage Place in Cavendish, Prince Edward Island, Canada connected to the *Anne of Green Gables* book series by L. M. Montgomery. These case studies were deliberately selected in order to showcase a range of setting-based literary heritage sites with different components. Particularly, sites were chosen with a range of focus on the author's biography or the books, and a combination of sites that inspired the literature and sites that were constructed based on the literature.

The case studies each have different levels of being constructed or modified after the publication of the books to fit the literary description, something that was particularly necessary for an accurate evaluation of the concept of authenticity at these sites. Ashdown Forest is relatively untouched and contains very few constructed elements. The Sherlock Holmes Museum was constructed in its entirety after the publication of the books. Green Gables Heritage Place has a mix of original and added elements. Additionally, it has recently undergone major renovations, allowing my evaluation to reflect the most updated version of the site and the most current standards and practices. While Ashdown Forest and Green Gables Heritage Place were the confirmed inspirations for the settings in their respective literary works, The Sherlock Holmes Museum was built post-publication to create a physical location for a fully imagined place.

These case studies also differ in how they focus on real and fictional elements. The interpretation at Ashdown Forest is minimal but generally more connected to the author. Green Gables Heritage Place has a relatively even balance between connecting to the real Montgomery and the fictional Anne. The Sherlock Holmes Museum focuses on the fictional. Because my research

examines the treatment of fiction and reality at these sites and the creation of a sense of authenticity, it is important that my case studies represent a range of constructedness post-book publication and different degrees of interpretation of the author's history and the fictional story of the literature.

Beyond these elements, my case studies also represent a range in their intended audiences (although visitors of all ages connect to the literature and the sites). For an idea of the reading level of each book, Booksource, a book distributor for schools, marks the interest level for *Winnie-the-Pooh* at Kindergarten - Grade 3, *Anne of Green Gables* at Grades 5 - 9 and *The Adventures of Sherlock Holmes* at Grades 6 – 12 (2019a; 2019b, 2019c). The locations of these sites also represent a range: Ashdown Forest is a natural site within a natural landscape, Green Gables Heritage Place is located in a rural community, and The Sherlock Holmes Museum is in an urban area within a big city.

The advantage of this variety within my case studies is the ability to examine a diverse set of sites in order to have my criteria and results reflect setting-based literary heritage sites as a phenomenon rather than a single example.

Due to the limitations in the scope of this research, the books these sites are based around are all originally written in the English language and the case study sites are located in either England or Canada. Therefore, my research draws from anglophone literary sites and their interpretations in two Western countries. Future research could take into consideration cultural differences for setting-based literary sites in other countries.

Site Observation

The primary method used was site observation. A lot of previous research on literary heritage sites use visitor surveys and interviews to determine visitor attitudes and motivations surrounding these sites, however there is only limited research that focuses on the constitution of the sites themselves. Additionally, this method fits better with Garden's evaluation of heritage sites (2004; 2006; 2009).

My site observation required evaluation of the layout of the sites (including the names of places, maps, routes, barriers, and boundaries of the site), the physical elements of the site (including artefacts, buildings, reconstructions, and original features) and the interpretive elements (including signage, labels, tours, pamphlets, websites, staff in character, programs, and special events). I particularly paid attention to which elements of the site were constructed, which were original, which were natural, and how each element of the site related to the literature or to the author. I also examined how attention was directed to different elements, for example through tours or signage.

Data Collection

I visited The Sherlock Holmes Museum on three occasions and attended five introductory tours. I took into account the labels and artefacts at the site as well as the design, decoration, and layout. I also explored the official website and analysed the pamphlet given to visitors as a ticket. I additionally visited the Sherlock Holmes Pub and its own reconstruction of Holmes and

Watson's study, and the statue of Holmes at the Baker Street Underground Station to see other ways that this particular literary heritage is interpreted in the area.

I visited Ashdown Forest on two occasions. During my first visit I went on the mapped Pooh Walks as well as the walk to Pooh Sticks bridge. I visited the Forest Centre, collecting any written material involving the literary aspects of the site, including the pamphlet for the Pooh Walks and the instructions for visiting Pooh Sticks Bridge. I also visited Pooh Corner on both occasions and was able to speak informally with one of the owners about the plans for the "Poohseum" and the interpretation of the Winnie-the-Pooh heritage in the area. During my second visit I attended "The Landscape of Winnie-the-Pooh" guided walk and was also able to informally speak to members of the education team about the interpretation of Winnie-the-Pooh heritage at the site. I also examined the components of the Ashdown Forest website relating to the literary heritage, including the descriptions of the guided walks, to see how the literary heritage of the site was promoted to visitors.

I visited Green Gables Heritage Place on four occasions. I had an informal tour by one of the members of staff and talked about the renovations and the interpretation at the site. I explored all the elements of the site, including the gift shop, the new exhibit, the remains of the old exhibit, the orientation film, the interior of the house, the Lover's Lane/Balsam Wood Trail and the Haunted Wood Trail. I attended an official tour as well as a few of the programs, including "Field Day with Miss Stacy" and the special after-hours program "A Cordial Visit", after which I spoke informally to another member of staff about the programming and got another perspective on the interpretation and renovations at the site. I also made visits to L. M. Montgomery's

Cavendish Home as accessed through Green Gables Heritage Place. Beyond those two sites, I visited all the additional places included in the “Anne of Green Gables Package”: The L. M. Montgomery Birthplace, The Anne of Green Gables Museum, and *Anne and Gilbert* the Musical. In addition, I visited L. M. Montgomery’s grave and went to Avonlea Village, which contains repurposed buildings related to Montgomery and a statue of Anne. I visited all of the sites related to the literature in the area to examine if any of the sites could be connected with each other, or alternatively if they competed or clashed with each other. I took into consideration all promotional and informational materials related to the literary heritage sites I had access to, as well as the Government of Canada webpages relating to Green Gables Heritage Place.

Analytical Framework

While there is a wealth of heritage-related issues to investigate, I identified three themes as important areas for research: immersion, boundaries and authenticity. To investigate immersion, I examined all of the tangible elements of the site to see what was directly connected to the literature, what was connected to the historical period, and what was connected to the author, as well as elements that might interfere with a sense of immersion, for example ropes and barriers or gift shops. I also took into account what interpretive elements (tours, signage, labels, activities) were directed at creating a fictional sense of place or a sense of place connected to the author or the history. I considered the specific language used in signs and tours to determine the degree to which the fictional was being discussed as real. To examine boundaries, I considered not only the layout and maps of the site, but any connected sites interpreting the same literary heritage. For authenticity I considered ways in which authenticity was textually conveyed both at the site and on the official websites and verbally conveyed via tour guides, looking particularly

for language such as “official”, “verified”, “authentic”, “original”, and “genuine”. I also considered references to textual loyalty, visual cues associated with authorizing bodies such as heritage institutions, museums, and the government, and any elements at the site that were presented as authentic, whether to the literature, the historical period, or the author.

Ethics

There are limited ethical implications to consider for this project since I did not deal with sensitive or personal material and my sites are all open to the public. I had informal conversations with some staff members about their sites and in every case obtained consent to use the information they provided in this dissertation.

Chapter IV: Immersion

While most heritage sites are tasked with creating a sense of the past, setting-based literary heritage sites are in the unique position of contending with the biography of the author, the history of the site, and the imaginary reality created in the literature with which they are connected. Choices must be made at every level about how much to bring in the author's truth and how far to immerse visitors in the fictional story, which will change the nature and experience of the site. This chapter will evaluate the concept of the heritagescape as a whole by considering how the visible, interpretive, and emphasized elements of setting-based literary heritage sites create a sense of place, while taking into consideration the complicated nature of these sites.

The Sherlock Holmes Museum: A Sense of Fictional Place

The Sherlock Holmes Museum focuses on interpretation of the fictional, which is logical because it is the site that is the least grounded in reality. The apartment at 221B Baker Street was completely imagined by Sir Arthur Conan Doyle for his novels; the address did not exist at the time. The museum was not created until 1990, when it was designed within a Georgian townhouse between 237 and 241 Baker Street.

The museum is set up to create a strong immersive experience of the fictional literary setting, with essentially no experience of the author. There is no information about the author or his life; instead his books and characters are treated as real. The choice to focus entirely on creating an immersive experience of a fictional place has generated controversy, with Conan Doyle's

daughter, Dame Jean Conan Doyle, vocally opposing the museum's encouragement of the belief that her father's famous character was a real person (Duncan 2009, p. 6). This exclusive focus on the fictional marks this site as very different from most heritage sites, but while it represents the far end of the fictional vs. biographical/historical spectrum, there are other examples of setting-based literary heritage sites that take the same approach (for example Platform 9 ¾ at Kings Cross Station). The advantage of choosing to focus exclusively on creating the sense of a fictional place is that the immersion is stronger. By acknowledging the author, you must necessarily acknowledge that the fictional world of the literature is not real, which weakens the immersion into the fictional.

Visitors to the site must first purchase a ticket from the gift shop beside the museum. Gift shops are an aspect of modernity that take away from the immersion of the site but are an expected element at most heritage sites (Garden 2009, p. 277). However, the gift shop is made more immersive by the period costumes of the staff and the era-appropriate styling of the interior. The door of the gift shop even features a "Police Notice" from 1888 warning of murders near Whitechapel. The "ticket" to the museum is a pamphlet that visitors can peruse while waiting in line. It sets up the immersive aspect for visitors even before entering, for example stating, "Now it is also possible to see where and how [Sherlock Holmes] lived in Victorian times!" (The Sherlock Holmes Museum, n.d.a).

Visitors enter through the door marked 221B, ushered in by another staff member in period costume. The first floor contains the study (Figure 1) and Holmes's room which are designed to look as if the characters were currently living there and had just stepped out for a moment. The

rooms are filled with items mentioned in the stories. A costumed tour guide gives a short speech in each room, answering questions and pointing out items of particular interest from the books, for example Holmes's Stradivarius violin. This serves as the only form of interpretation on this floor, and it is up to the visitors to recognize items not mentioned by the tour guide, thus drawing them into an engagement linking their memories of the books with what they see. The tour guides speak of Holmes and Watson as real people, recounting plot moments in the books as past events with no references to the author or to the fictional nature of the stories. This consciously contributes to the immersion into the fictional. The casual inclusion of photographs and stories (told via tour guide) of real criminals from the wall of Holmes's room in this case only contribute to the illusion of the fictional because of the subtle way reality is included in the same way as the fictional. The inclusion also remains accurate to the books, which included references to real life criminals mentioned by Holmes (Conan Doyle 2009, p. 987). Having items that are specifically mentioned in the books gives visual reference to something that existed previously only on the page and in the imagination. This is similar to how seeing artefacts can make the past seem more real by giving visual reference to it in the present.

There are ropes to stop visitors from walking through part of the study, which brings visitors slightly out of the illusion that Holmes and Watson might return at any moment, but which doesn't create a full break from immersion because having ropes to restrict visitors is also common in heritage sites that deal with real historical figures. Therefore, while ropes and restricted areas take away from the immersion, as Garden mentions (2004, p. 176), the ropes and restricted areas in this case don't draw attention to the fictional aspect of the site because of the way historic houses are often set up.



Figure 1: Holmes and Watson's Study at The Sherlock Holmes Museum.

The second floor of The Sherlock Holmes Museum maintains the illusion of being Holmes's real residence by having the rooms labeled as Watson's and Mrs. Hudson's Rooms and by matching the layout described in the books (as additionally pointed out in the ticket pamphlet (The Sherlock Holmes Museum, n.d.a)). However, they are set up as a mix between rooms with limited furnishings (notably lacking beds) and a museum with display areas for "artefacts". The way this floor is presented in the ticket pamphlet is that these were originally Watson and Mrs. Hudson's rooms but are used today as exhibit rooms (The Sherlock Holmes Museum, n.d.a). The rooms have cases and shelves holding objects related to Holmes's cases (for example Figure 2), labeled with a description of the item, a quote from the story mentioning the item, and the name of the story in which the item was featured. This connects to the fictional reality of the literature

directly by including quotes. The use of quotes is a very common strategy unique to literary heritage sites that connects the site to its literature. The “artefacts” act as physical evidence of Holmes’s adventures, allowing visitors to indulge in the visuals of what it would look like if the books were real. Despite the different setups of the first and second floors, both maintain a strong and consistent sense of the fictional setting of the literature.



Figure 2: Display case containing weapons from Holmes’s cases at The Sherlock Holmes Museum.

On the uppermost floor is a wax museum with life-sized wax figures of characters and scenes from the stories (for example Figure 3). They each have labels with the name of the related case, the name of the character(s), and a quote from the story. This is a way to give a physical presence to the characters of the stories, similar to using dioramas or actors (although actors can increase immersion by interacting with the visitors).



Figure 3: Wax figures of Mr. Charles Augustus Milverton and Lady Eva Blackwell at The Sherlock Holmes Museum.

All three floors of the museum give physical form to elements from the book and work closely with descriptions from the literature. The second and third floors make use of quotes from the books, while the first floor allows visitors to see rooms in a more “natural” state without cases or labels and has tour guides to present the rooms and make reference to the fiction. The lack of the author’s presence means that the sense of a fictional place is not disrupted by the historical reality of its fabricated nature. Ironically, despite having the least connection to the real history of the site or the author, the immersion in the fictional is so strong at this site that it functions quite similarly to immersion into the past at a historical heritage site, with all of its elements focused on creating a singular sense of place. The notable difference is that the sense of place it creates is based on fiction. The creation of a uniform sense of fictional place is uncommon as most setting-based literary heritage sites maintain at least some element of biographical and/or historical reality at their site.

Green Gables Heritage Place: Balancing Fiction and Reality

Green Gables Heritage Place is an example of a literary heritage site with strong ties both to the author and to the literature. The original Green Gables House, around which the site is formed, belonged to siblings David and Margaret MacNeill, the cousins of L. M. Montgomery's grandparents. L. M. Montgomery grew up living with her grandparents nearby to the Macneills' home, and became familiar with their farm by exploring the surrounding woodlands, so the author has a direct tie to the real history of the site (albeit a somewhat tenuous one compared to other sites in Prince Edward Island where she spent more time). However, the site is best known for being the inspiration for Green Gables, the titular setting for *Anne of Green Gables*, where Anne lived with her adoptive parents, siblings Marilla and Mathew Cuthbert.

The site chooses to interpret both the biography of the author and the fictional story related to the site. This is a challenge and an opportunity unique to setting-based literary heritage sites, and it complicates the idea of a heritagescape centered around creating a uniform and uninterrupted sense of place.

There is existing literature on Green Gables Heritage Place that note its mixing of real and fictional elements (Fawcett and Cormack 2001; Bhadury 2011; Gothie 2016; etc.). Since its most recent renovations, the balance of real and fictional has only become more explicit with the addition of an exhibit in the new Visitor's Centre centered entirely around Montgomery, her life, her writing, and her connection to the Island (Figure 4).



Figure 4: A section of the “Inspiring Montgomery” exhibit at Green Gables Heritage Place.

After visiting the detailed new exhibit and/or the gift shop in the Visitor’s Centre, visitors may choose to participate in a short tour in French or English that provides more information about the true history of the site. Following the tour, visitors are invited to enter the fenced-in area around the house and explore for themselves.

This fence unofficially marks the switch from historical to fictional immersion. Armed with a strong sense of the history of the site and its connections to the author through the exhibit and/or tour, visitors are invited to enter this space as it was imagined in the literature. One of the entrances through the fence fittingly contains a quote from *Anne of Green Gables*, marking the switch from historical to fictional immersion. It reads “It’s delightful when your imaginations come true, isn’t it?”. Beyond the fence is Green Gables House and its garden. There are often actors in costume as characters from the books wandering around, with Anne in particular making regular appearances. The actors always stay in character, allowing visitors to interact

with characters they recognize from the stories and maintaining the illusion of stepping into Anne's world.

The house is decorated and set up to fit the descriptions in the books. It contains objects from the period as well as specific objects related to the story and the characters. Matthew, Marilla, and Anne all have easily identifiable rooms based on their contents, and there is also a guest room and a room for the farm hand. Anne's room (Figure 5) in particular contains the dress with puffed sleeves she got from Matthew, the carpet bag that contained all her worldly possessions when she first arrived at the train station, and the broken slate that she smashed over Gilbert Blythe's head. These are markers that increase the immersion into the fictional by calling to mind important moments from the book, much as specific items in The Sherlock Holmes Museum did. While Garden's heritagescape (2004; 2006; 2009) generally emphasizes elements that create a break in immersion, for setting-based heritage sites what is most important is the specific elements that create a sense of fictional immersion by directly connecting to the literature. The whole of the Green Gables House is set up in the same style as the first floor of The Sherlock Holmes Museum; it is curated to look as if the characters may return at any moment (with the exception of the glass barriers which, similarly to the ropes at The Sherlock Holmes Museum, prevent guests from entering the rooms). Apart from the glass barricades, there is nothing within the house to suggest that it was not the true setting of the books, creating a strong sense of fictional place.



Figure 5: Anne's bedroom in Green Gables House at Green Gables Heritage Place.

There are a few other elements to the site that have not yet been mentioned. There are two walking trails, Lover's Lane (a.k.a. Balsam Hollow Trail) and the Haunted Wood, that are both the names of places from the fictional world of the book and also the names Montgomery gave to them when she was growing up. The trails have signage throughout that focus mainly on Montgomery and her inspirations. On the trails, the interpretation points more towards an immersion in Montgomery's real life and her experience. There are also some barns at the entrance to the site that during my visits still housed an orientation film introducing the site as the inspiration for Montgomery's stories and an earlier exhibit on Montgomery, both of which the site has plans to phase out. These barns will then serve as areas for interpretive programming.

Green Gables Heritage Site offers many programs in addition to the physical aspects of the site. Apart from the tours and the opportunity to meet Anne that occur daily, the regular weekly programs include “Field Day with Miss Stacy”, “Games and Races” and “Sunday Picnic” which involve immersive and interactive activities with characters, “Story Time” which involves reading from *Anne of Green Gables* followed by interaction with Anne, various musical performances, stories, and crafts that are not necessarily directly related to the literature, and a special after-hours program (which requires purchase of a separate ticket) where visitors can see the site “through Anne’s eyes”. They are able to meet Anne as a part of her world and do activities with her such as singing, reciting poetry, drinking raspberry cordial, and making a friendship vow. The actress playing Anne remains fully in character, saying quotes and telling stories of things that happened in the book, creating a very strong sense of being a part of the fictional world. Visitors are also able to visit Green Gables House without any of the barriers mentioned previously that take away from the immersion. In this program visitors can enter the otherwise blocked off rooms and touch artefacts like the puffed-sleeved dress. The elements that normally take away from the immersion are removed for this program, creating the strongest possible sense of immersion into the fictional. This program represents the choice to immerse completely into the fiction at the expense of ignoring the author and the real history of the site, similar to The Sherlock Holmes Museum, however it is a special program and does not represent the general experience of most visitors at the site. In fact, the renovations that include a much-expanded interpretation of Montgomery’s history suggest that the site has intentionally expanded the biographical/historical side of the site, creating more of a balance between history and fiction at the site and allowing visitors to immerse themselves both in Montgomery’s connection to the site and in Anne’s. The careful division of the areas for fictional and historic immersion within

the site are useful in preventing the two immersions from conflicting with each other, as will be discussed further in Chapter V.

Ashdown Forest: Visitor-Dependant Immersion

Ashdown Forest does not do very much to emphasize its literary connection relative to other sites, therefore the immersion levels as it relates to the author or the literature depend heavily on the visitor. If a visitor comes to the forest without prior knowledge of its connections, it is very possible that they will have no sense of the fictional and biographical literary elements of the forest, unless they come across the limited constructed elements at the site. There is a memorial for A. A. Milne and E. H. Shepard that reads ““and by and by they came to an enchanted place on the very top of the forest called Galleons Lap’ Here at Gills Lap are commemorated A. A. Milne 1882-1956 and E. H. Shepard 1879-1976 who collaborated in the creation of ‘Winnie-the-Pooh’ and so captured the magic of Ashdown Forest and gave it to the world”. The other constructed element is Pooh Sticks Bridge which has a sign that reads “Welcome to Pooh Sticks Bridge: Made famous by the A. A. Milne stories featuring Winnie the Pooh and other animal characters, the Bridge is maintained by East Sussex County Council and was last rebuilt in 1999” as well as laying out some rules of conduct. Both these markers focus on the author (and illustrator) of the books, mentioning the fictional character of Winnie-the-Pooh, but as their fictional creation. The rest of the forest is unmarked and natural, providing an immersive element only through the visitor’s own desire and knowledge.

There are two “Pooh Walks” designed by the site management for those that desire a more immersive experience of the literary aspect of the forest. Visitors can do a small loop (1 km) or

continue and take a longer loop (3.25 km). The map and directions for these walks can be found on the Ashdown Forest website and in physical pamphlets at the Forest Centre. There is also a sign at the Gills Lap Parking Lot that mentions and gives a visual map of the walks but directs visitors to the Forest Centre for more information. These walks connect areas of the landscape with locations from the Winnie-the-Pooh stories, allowing for more of a fictional immersion. Pooh Sticks Bridge is not featured on either the Pooh Walks or the guided walks, however instructions on how to get there are provided at the Forest Centre. Interestingly, the description on the pamphlet available online or at the forest centre begins: “Ashdown forest is the real place where Christopher Robin, a boy, Winnie-the-Pooh, arguably the most famous bear in the world, and their friends grew up together”, taking an immersive fictional approach, while the sign at Gills Lap Parking Lot (the beginning point of the Pooh Walks) focuses the immersion into the real historical connections of the landscape to the author, pointing out that A. A. Milne and his son Christopher Robin lived just north of there and that the Forest today would still be recognizable to Milne and Shepard, with the main difference that large areas that were open and treeless in the 1920s are now woodland (Cooper, Marriott and Brooker n.d.; The Conservators of Ashdown Forest n.d.).

If visitors follow the walk laid out in the pamphlet they are led to key locations and given descriptions of the fictional adventures that happened there in the books. The descriptions are immersed in the fictional but grounded in reality. Most of the places are mentioned in relation to the adventures that happened there in various stories, for example The North Pole and the “expotition” Christopher Robin, Pooh and friends went on to find it (Cooper, Marriott and Brooker n.d.). However, when it comes to locations without an explicit real life equivalent in the

Forest, the pamphlet offers a possible location but leaves room for other interpretations. For example, the description for The Heffalump Trap reads, “Some say that the hollow was Pooh’s Cunning Trap to capture that rare beast, the Heffalump. Some will say that it was somewhere else,” and pointing out that though in the books the trap was close to the Six Pine Trees and this hollow is beside only one, perhaps that tree is all that is left of the six (Cooper, Marriott and Brooker n.d.). It also mentions the trap in the garden of Christopher Robin’s real home that the gardener’s wife caught her foot in, which is most likely Milne’s real inspiration for the trap (Cooper, Marriott and Brooker n.d.). For the Memorial, which is clearly part of the biographical side of the site, the pamphlet reads that “As Christopher Robin was to write in later life, this was where his father sat and where Pooh sat too; now we can see what they saw” (Cooper, Marriott and Brooker n.d.). This is a mixing of biographical and fictional immersion, encouraging the readers to see both what the author saw (historical reality) and what Pooh saw (fictional reality). The way the pamphlet and sign address the walks offers up a literary immersive element for those that desire it, but also addresses some of the real history and the relative strength or weakness of the connection of the various story elements to the physical places on the walks, because while there are a few confirmed setting locations based on real places in the forest, most of the locations on the walks were simply chosen based on similarity to the descriptions in the books. These interpretive choices are in contrast to The Sherlock Holmes Museum’s approach that treats the building as the confirmed home of the characters, despite the address being invented by the author, and is also in contrast to Green Gables Heritage Place which chooses separate immersion in the fictional or the historical depending on the area. The physical landscape of Ashdown Forest itself does not lead visitors one way or another; it is a natural space

open for visitors to decide if they want to immerse themselves in the fictional and/or the connection to the author.



Figures 6, 7, 8: View approaching and entering “The Enchanted Place” as directed by the Pooh Walks from Gills Lap, Ashdown Forest.

The educators at Ashdown Forest have also recently started putting on special guided walks related to Winnie-the-Pooh. Currently, there are two options. One is geared towards families and involves “[following] in Winnie the Pooh’s footsteps across the Ashdown Forest” and activities like making Eeyore a new home (Ashdown Forest 2019). The other walk, called “The Landscape of Winnie the Pooh” is for adults. It explores the connection of the forest to Milne and the setting of his books, and includes quotations read from the books, information about the natural history of the landscape, and discussion of the history of Christopher Robin and his father. The quotations from the stories offer some immersion into the fictional, however the focus of the interpretation is on Milne, the real history of Ashdown Forest, and above all the landscape itself.

By leaving Ashdown Forest itself mostly free from interpretive elements, and having the option of immersive interpretation in the form of a mapped or guided walk which acknowledges both the real and the imagined elements of the sites, the visitors are able to self-direct the immersion of their experience at Ashdown Forest, and the nature of the sense of place that is created will depend heavily on the visitor. It is worth mentioning that in one part of the forest, some doors have been added onto trees anonymously that make them look more like the homes of characters from the stories. This represents someone's desire to give the forest more of a fictional immersion, although it was not a decision made by the official management of the forest.

These three sites each offer very different versions of immersion and the sense of place(s) that can be created at setting-based literary heritage sites. The complete immersion into a fictional place presented by The Sherlock Holmes Museum, the curated dual immersions into fiction and reality at Green Gables Heritage Place and the visitor-dependant immersion at Ashdown Forest are three examples of the unique character of setting-based literary heritage sites that do not follow the standard objective of the heritagescape of creating a unified experience of the past.

Chapter V: Boundaries

The principle of boundaries as an aspect of the heritagescape has been described as “the fencing off, demarcating or acknowledgement of the landscape of Heritage” (Garden 2006, p. 399). It includes both the physical boundaries of the site and the envisioned/understood limits of the site (Garden 2006, p. 399). With setting-based literary heritage sites, this framework can become complicated, and to understand these sites the focus must be on the envisioned/understood boundaries. For example, sites that have both a strong biographical element and a strong fictional element such as Green Gables Heritage Place can have different boundaries within the site demarcating the “real” and fictional elements. For sites that leave most of the interpretation up to the visitors, especially natural sites like Ashdown Forest, the perceived boundaries of the site can vary greatly depending on the visitor and be much smaller or more flexible than the physical boundaries of the site itself.

Additionally, it can be relevant to view the site, or sometimes networks of sites, in terms of ‘hotspots’ that consist of various important locations related to the literature, and therefore provide a specific citational link between the spot and the text. The creation of site networks and of hotspots within sites goes beyond the understood principle of boundaries. While networks and hotspots can be envisioned with regard to other types of heritage sites, it is particularly popular for literary sites because many literary works connect to more than one place, and because visitors often seek out multiple sites related to the author and/or to the setting as part of their experience. This is evident in the popularity of walking tours based around various hotspots connected to the literature that are often not part of a single unified site. These walking tours

often incorporate places related not only to the literary setting but also related to the author's life, and/or the filming locations of any film or television adaptations of the literature. The combination of two or more distinct but related literary sites in official or unofficial ways like this can form networks of sites connected through literature. The different aspects of boundaries for literary heritagescapes are also evident in the conflation of entire cities or regions with their iconic literature, for example "Catherine Cookson Country" (Pocock 1992), "Shakespeare's Stratford" (Hoppen et al. 2014), "Dickens's London" (Stiebel 2004), "James Joyce's Dublin" (Johnson 2004) or "Wordsworth's Lake District" (Pocock 1992).

Green Gables Heritage Place: Internal Boundaries and Site Networks

The boundaries of Green Gables Heritage Place have a few unique features. As mentioned in the previous chapter, Green Gables Heritage Place consciously interprets both L. M. Montgomery's life and Anne's life. The way it manages these different immersive aspects is to create an unspoken boundary between them by means of the fence surrounding the house (Figure 9), keeping the more immersive fictional aspects within the boundary of the fence, while interpreting the history of Montgomery in the other areas. For example, the costumed staff in character do not often venture outside of the area surrounding the house, while the tours given by staff that provide historical context and talk about Montgomery take place outside of the fenced-in area. This is an example of boundaries within a site that are used to manage the fictional and real elements of a setting-based literary heritage site and avoid confusing them.



Figure 9: Fence at Green Gables Heritage Place with the quote “It’s delightful when your imaginations come true, isn’t it?”.

Green Gables Heritage Place is also a good example of how literary heritage sites can form networks that can blur the boundaries of a site. There is an abundance of literary sites related to Montgomery and to Anne in the area, and the region is widely promoted as the home of Montgomery and of Anne. As such, Green Gables Heritage Place cannot help but be connected with the other sites in the region. L. M. Montgomery’s Cavendish Home, where Montgomery lived with her grandparents and where she wrote *Anne of Green Gables*, is the site with the strongest link to Green Gables Heritage Place. The sites are not only connected through their shared literary heritage, but they are also physically connected through the Haunted Wood Trail. Visitors can even purchase a joint ticket to both sites. This allows visitors to visit both sites without ever really mentally and physically leaving the literary heritagescape of *Anne of Green Gables*.

Beyond this, at the time of my visit (2019) there was an “Anne of Green Gables Package” on offer which included access to Green Gables Heritage Place, L. M. Montgomery’s Cavendish Home, L. M. Montgomery Birthplace, The Anne of Green Gables Museum and a ticket to *Anne and Gilbert* the Musical. This explicitly creates a network of sites and experiences for visitors interested in the literary heritage of *Anne of Green Gables*. The network could even be expanded for a motivated visitor to include L. M. Montgomery’s Grave, and Avonlea Village, the historic townsite named for the fictional town in *Anne of Green Gables* with repurposed buildings related to Montgomery (both free to visit and close to Green Gables Heritage Place). The connections between the literary sites in the area have been noted by Tye, who states, “in Cavendish boundaries soften and spaces run together as tourists and inhabitants seek individual meanings in landscape and in Lucy Maud Montgomery” (1994, p. 1). While Green Gables Heritage Place can be considered a heritagescape in itself, it is also part of a larger literary heritagescape of *Anne of Green Gables* and of L. M. Montgomery, both explicitly and implicitly.

Ashdown Forest: Hotspots

Ashdown Forest, as a natural site, does not have any visible, clear boundaries or markers to separate the literary site from the rest of the landscape. While the Winnie-the-Pooh books feature a map indicating the important places in the stories, the locations of the literary sites at Ashdown Forest are less clear, and may even change places. For example, the “Pooh Walks” and the guided “Landscape of Winnie-the-Pooh” walk mentioned in the previous chapter take place in completely different areas of the forest, even though they make references to some of the same places from the stories, like Roo’s Sandy Pit and the North Pole. In addition, the area with Pooh Sticks bridge (Figure 10) and the unofficial doors in the trees is in yet another part of the forest.

Therefore, depending on how the literary site is approached by the visitor, the boundaries of the literary site could look entirely different. The perception of boundaries for this literary site is very different because there is no one area or set of areas that is the literary part of the forest. Instead the literary aspect of the site can be considered in terms of hotspots that are important places in the books or relating to the author. The visitor's awareness of the hotspots and what they choose to visit will then determine what the site looks like for the visitor. The Forest Centre offers three different experiences of various hotspots to visitors: the Pooh Walks, the guided walks, and the directions to Pooh Sticks Bridge, which can be combined in different ways depending on the motivation and knowledge of the visitor. These walks can be conceptualized similarly to the literary walks I referenced earlier, which link together various hotspots related to the literature and provide a route for visitors to experience a broad heritagescape. In this example, the hotspots are contained within a single site, but a site without clear boundaries.



Figure 10: Pooh Sticks Bridge in Ashdown Forest.

In fact, while in the forest, the boundaries of the natural landscape appear limitless. For some visitors, the knowledge of the connection of the forest with the books might be enough to transform the entire landscape into a literary heritagescape. However, for visitors that want a more direct connection, what creates sense of the forest as a setting for the books is the creation of hotspots that link the site to specific places from the books. Because these hotspots are open for interpretation, the connected elements of the site are likely to depend very much on the visitor. For example, although unofficial, the doors added to some of the trees to mark the houses of characters may be included in the visitor's perceived layout of the site if they are noticed.

The Conservators of Ashdown Forest manage the site and created the "Pooh Walks" and guided tours. However, there is also a business in Hartfield near the forest that has recently taken a more active role in the interpretation of the connection of Milne and Winnie-the-Pooh to the area. Originally a sweets shop that Milne and his son would frequent and then converted into a tea room, Pooh Corner has come under new ownership in the last year and has expanded its role and connection to the Winnie-the-Pooh heritagescape with the creation of not only a gift shop full of Pooh merchandise, but also a "Poohseum" to educate visitors about Milne, Christopher Robin, Shepard, and the various adaptations of the stories. Pooh Corner also provides directions for visitors wishing to go to Pooh Sticks Bridge and has plans to continue expanding its role.

The lack of clearly defined boundaries or hotspots makes the boundaries of Ashdown Forest as a literary site particularly malleable and the perceived constitution of the site likely to vary visitor to visitor.

The Sherlock Holmes Museum: Hard Boundaries

The Sherlock Holmes Museum has the tightest and most traditional boundaries of the three case studies. The site has a gift shop beside the museum and a clear entry and exit to the museum via the front door. This door marks both the boundary of the museum and the boundary of the fictional world of Sherlock Holmes. The London of today does not much resemble the London of Holmes's time, and therefore the illusion cannot easily continue after exiting the demarcated museum space, as it might do for the more rural sites of Green Gables Heritage Place and Ashdown Forest.

There are other sites related to Sherlock Holmes, but they are not explicitly or implicitly connected to The Sherlock Holmes Museum. The Sherlock Holmes Pub contains memorabilia and references to the books and their subsequent adaptations, and notably has its own reconstructed version of Holmes and Watson's study (Figure 11) in which visitors can see many of the same recognizable items from The Sherlock Holmes Museum, for example the violin, the pipe, the Persian slipper for Holmes's tobacco, and the initials V.R. shot into the wall. It also has its own additions, such as a wax figure that was used in one of the stories to trick Colonel Sebastian Moran into shooting the dummy instead of the real Holmes. Like the reconstructed study at The Sherlock Holmes Museum, it is set up to look as if Holmes and Watson are still inhabiting it, and it even has a descriptive label that ends by saying, "Mr. Holmes and Dr. Watson have just gone out, but they will be back at any moment ..." (The Sherlock Holmes Pub, n.d.). This reconstruction and the one at The Sherlock Holmes Museum contradict each other by both presenting themselves as the same room. Because they depict the same locations (unlike for example the sites connecting to *Anne of Green Gables* which can coexist within the same

network because they present very different places), the sites conflict or clash with each other rather than fitting into a connected heritagescape. While the Ashdown Forest Pooh Walks and guided walks mention some of the same fictional locations in different parts of the forest, they do not clash in the same way because they are offered as possible locations, with the decisions whether or not they are the true setting left to the visitor, while The Sherlock Holmes Museum is never presented as anything except the official setting.



Figure 11: The Study at 221B Baker Street at the Sherlock Holmes Pub.

Visitors can expand their Sherlockian heritagescape if they are motivated by visiting other places mentioned in the books or related to the author, for example the hospital where Holmes and Watson are said to have first met, the statue of Holmes outside of the Baker Street Underground Station or the plaques marking places where Conan Doyle lived. However, the contrast of the Victorian style of the museum with the modern cityscape of London that visitors encounter directly upon leaving mean that the site cannot easily maintain an illusion of setting beyond the

limits of the site and the physical boundaries of the site are very strong, hindering an easy incorporation into a network of sites.

Green Gables Heritage Place and Ashdown Forest demonstrate that the boundaries of literary heritagescapes can be complicated and can involve elements both within and without the physical limits of a site. Literary heritage is prone to creating networks of sites, which can extend the sense of a literary heritagescape beyond the limits of one site. Sites and settings with multiple elements can create hotspots of literary connection for visitors to bring together if and how they choose, connected through a link to the literature. That said, some setting-based literary heritage sites follow a more traditional idea of boundaries such as The Sherlock Holmes Museum, boundaries which are strengthened by the contrast of the setting presented within the site with the urban landscape surrounding it.

Chapter VI: Authenticity

There is an obvious challenge in applying authenticity to setting-based literary heritage sites due to their fictional component. While these sites can contain elements that follow more standard definitions of authenticity, there is also necessarily a fictional element that makes them different from most heritage sites.

Chapter II summarized notions of authenticity that have been applied to heritage sites. The most relevant terms for this analysis are objective authenticity, the most traditional understanding of authenticity based on verifiable originality, constructive authenticity, which has broader application based on symbolic meaning, and Bruner's concept of authenticity based around authority (1994).

Even as definitions of authenticity have become more open, sites involving fiction remain in a unique position whereby they are unable to articulate authenticity the same way as other sites yet are still motivated to claim it in some ways, therefore authenticity is expressed and promoted at these sites in distinct manners.

Fictional Authenticity

Fictional authenticity is a concept that refers to the site's loyalty to the descriptions from the literary work. It is an authenticity unique to sites that relate to fiction and it is strongly connected to the fictional immersion that was discussed in Chapter IV. This authenticity defies objective authenticity because it involves constructing something imaginary. Therefore, it relies on a broad

interpretation of constructive authenticity. Its only authenticity comes from its symbolic meaning as a physical embodiment of something from a familiar narrative and its adherence to descriptions from the literature. Amey proposes that visitors actively look for similarities between the physical site and the fictional place at setting-based literary heritage sites and that in finding them visitors experience a feeling of recognition, “almost as if they discovered the imaginary place ‘for real’” (2015, p. 71). Similarly, site interpretation encourages this authenticity by presenting the fictional aspects of the site as genuine.

This type of authenticity is strongly apparent at The Sherlock Holmes Museum, which showcases as much detail from the books as possible and draws attention to this authenticity with an introductory tour on the first floor and quotes from the books on the other two floors, as discussed in Chapter IV. Ashdown Forest on the other hand makes very little effort to make the site fit the specific details of the books, except in the case of Pooh Sticks Bridge which was restored to look more like Shepard’s illustrations.

Green Gables Heritage Place is an interesting case study for fictional authenticity because firstly, unlike The Sherlock Holmes Museum, there are more traditionally “authentic” aspects to the site that interpretation could focus on, yet it still chooses to include fictionally authentic aspects. Secondly, the site has the distinguished designation from the Government of Canada of being a National Historic Site. This is particularly relevant not only because it has a strong fictional component, but because other L. M. Montgomery sites on the Island without that fictional component have not received the same distinction.

The site contains some interpretation of the true history of the Macneill family that lived in the house, the realities of farm life on the island in the late 1800s/early 1900s, and the biography of L. M. Montgomery, however, the house around which the site is centered is dedicated to fictional authenticity. The inside and outside of the house have been restored not to look how it did historically when the Macneills lived in it, but to look how it was described in the literature. This is relevant because it is an example of fictional authenticity taking precedence over “factual” authenticity (Bhadury 2011, pp. 217, 220-221; Tetley 1998, p. 50).

The iconic look of Green Gables House (Figure 12) was intentionally created in late 1939 when the shutters and gables were painted green to fit the fictional story (Fawcett & Cormack 2001, p. 695; Gothie 2016, p. 414). This is an example of site management choosing to enhance fictional authenticity. Then when Environment Canada Parks Service proposed removing the “inauthentic” green shutters and gables, there was an uproar of protest (Tye 1994, p. 4). This demonstrates the valorization of fictional authenticity from both a management perspective and a visitor perspective. Beyond this, the green-and-white paint scheme is now officially maintained as part of the Level 2 historic value of the site because “it created the iconic image that remains in the public mind to this day of what the ‘Green Gables’ of the novel looked like” (Parks Canada 2011 quoted in Gothie 2016, p. 414). In this way, the appearance of Green Gables House is the ultimate example of the value of fictional authenticity because it is prioritized at Green Gables House by site management, by visitors, and through an official authorizing body.



Figure 12: Green Gables House at Green Gables Heritage Place.

This authorization of fictional authenticity is a testament to how traditional values of heritage can be overwritten. The Parks Canada policy with regard to historical sites is that they should “reflect as closely as possible the historic period”, which seems counter to the fictionalization of the house (Fawcett & Cormack 2001, p. 695). This is addressed at the site by treating Montgomery’s writing as a viable source of historical detail, along with more conventional sources such as historical records and scholarship (Fawcett & Cormack 2001, p. 695). The house is still made to look like a farmhouse of the period, however instead of using the house as the Macneills lived in it at that time as the reference, the literary text is treated as a legitimate resource for creating an authentic site.

While fictional authenticity is not yet recognized in heritage discourses, the idea that authenticity is constructed by assigning symbolic meaning is becoming more accepted. Additionally,

literature has long been considered a valuable part of cultural heritage. Fictional authenticity may not be based on something “real”, but it is certainly valued. When Green Gables House caught fire in 1997, the minister for Canadian heritage delivered a cheque for more than \$100,000 and the statement that “The Government of Canada wants to ensure that this wonderful symbol of our culture and our history continues to inspire all Canadians and people from around the world for many years to come” (MacLeod 2010, p. 135).

Appropriating Authorized Authenticity

As mentioned in Chapter II, one of the authenticities Bruner (1994) proposed was authenticity based around authority, whereby something was considered authentic if it was legitimized by an authorizing body. As discussed, Green Gables Heritage Place has achieved this authorized authenticity through official designations, most notably as a National Historic Site. However, for sites that are completely constructed such as The Sherlock Holmes Museum, it is less likely for them to receive these kinds of designations, though it remains an important way to legitimize fictional authenticity. As mentioned in Chapter V, the Sherlock Holmes Pub also has a recreation of Holmes and Watson’s study that uses fictional authenticity just as The Sherlock Holmes Museum does and the sites could be considered to be in competition with each other. One of the ways The Sherlock Holmes Museum distinguishes itself is by intentionally working to create a sense that it is authentic. To achieve this, it projects the image of being authorized by using visual cues visitors associate with authorization. The most notable example of this is the blue plaque on its exterior that reads “221b, Sherlock Holmes, Consulting Detective, 1881-1904” (Figure 13). This blue plaque looks almost indistinguishable from the Blue Plaques designated by English Heritage that celebrate “links between notable figures of the past and the buildings in

which they lived and worked” (English Heritage n.d.), even though it was commissioned by the museum and is not associated with any official body. By imitating English Heritage’s Blue Plaques, the museum is able to appropriate the perceived authority and authenticity of a Blue Plaque without having to meet the criteria of English Heritage (which excludes fictional characters).



Figure 13: “Blue Plaque” outside The Sherlock Holmes Museum.

Museums themselves are often considered authorizing bodies. Museums are assumed to uphold objective authenticity, and their contents and information trusted to be truthful. Therefore, even by using the word “museum” in their name, The Sherlock Holmes Museum is projecting authorized authenticity. This is reinforced by the visual cues, such as glass cases and labels that evoke a traditional museum. The displayed objects seem more authentic because they are being treated like legitimate and valuable artefacts in a museum, even though the meaning behind them is fully constructed.

The Sherlock Holmes Museum has obtained a few legitimate designations; it was legally given the address of 221B Baker Street by the Westminster City Council, and the building is Grade II listed by Historic England. These elements are fully utilized to promote the space as authentic. The homepage of the museum's website references both of these designations (The Sherlock Holmes Museum n.d.b). Furthermore, its acquired address is used to promote the space as "the Official Home of Sherlock Holmes" which both appears on the website homepage and was pointed out by a tour guide during one of my visits (The Sherlock Holmes Museum n.d.b). It was also mentioned by a tour guide that the museum has been used as a reference for various television and movie adaptations of Sherlock Holmes. Visitors might assume the site carries more authenticity if movie and televisions are basing their own reproductions of 221B Baker Street on the space, therefore this too could be interpreted as the promotion of a sense of authorized authenticity.

Transference of Authenticity

Ashdown Forest stands apart from the other case studies because it does not put the same effort into creating a sense of fictional authenticity or authorized authenticity (imitated or otherwise). As a result, it comes closest to traditional perceptions of objective authenticity; it is not pretending to be something it is not, and it has not been substantially modified to look like an imaginary place.

However, the challenge to authenticity at this site comes from the same place its value is derived: it is a real place that inspired a *fictional* one. Bom describes these places as "objectively

authentic experiences within a fictive frame of reference” (2015, p. 90). The place is real, and it is the confirmed inspiration for the literature, but it derives its value from an imaginary place. If the site is valued as the inspiration for the setting of the Winnie-the-Pooh stories, the real site cannot be authentic without the imaginary one, yet at the same time, imaginary places are by their very definition inauthentic.

In Bruner’s discussion on authenticity he makes the statement that because New Salem Historic Site has some original objects and one original building, “the aura of authenticity pervades the 1990s site, as if the luster of the few originals had rubbed off on the reproductions” (1994, p. 400). He suggests that having some degree of authenticity at a site can affect the perception of the entire site. I propose that this is an important way for setting-based literary heritage sites to claim and present some degree of authenticity, which then makes it easier for visitors to transfer this sense of authenticity onto the more fictional aspects.

For example, at The Sherlock Holmes Museum and Green Gables Heritage Place, a large portion if not all of the furniture, furnishings, and artefacts are original to the period depicted in the books, something that was emphasized by tour guides at both sites. Additionally, in both cases the buildings were originally from the period in question and restored to retain that historical accuracy. By maintaining historical authenticity in the building and most of the objects, it creates one layer of authenticity that facilitates the perception that the fictional meanings attached to the buildings and their contents could be authentic too.

I propose that this can also be applied to the real places, things, or even people that inspired fictional ones. In terms of places, the realness of the physical site and the genuine connection of the site to the author as the inspiration for the literature can promote a sense of authenticity that extends to the fictional dimension of the site. The Sherlock Holmes Museum is missing this “inspired by” connection, and so can only achieve a sense of spatial authenticity through being located in the same city and street mentioned in the books.

Green Gables Heritage Place accomplishes this with more success: it is on Prince Edward Island and in the real town of Cavendish that inspired the fictional town of Avonlea, but beyond that the specific site and house were the inspiration for the setting of the story. This was confirmed by the author, and is promoted throughout the site.

This is also the case for Ashdown Forest, which was the confirmed inspiration for the setting of the Winnie-the-Pooh books. Additionally, there are three real places within the forest that inspired specific fictional locations: Pooh Sticks Bridge was based on a real bridge at the site, Galleon’s Lap (a.k.a. The Enchanted Place) was based on Gills Lap, and the Hundred Acre Wood was named after the Five Hundred Acre Wood in Ashdown Forest. The identification of these places as the real inspiration for the fictional ones is perhaps as “authentic” as fictional places are able to be. The “inspired by” brand of authenticity seems to be a combination of authorized authenticity through the author’s confirmation that it was their inspiration, combined with the constructive authenticity of the visitors and site management that apply the symbolic meaning from the literature back onto the physical site.



Figure 14: Memorial for Milne and Shepard in Ashdown Forest that references Ashdown Forest as the inspiration for the setting of “Winnie-the-Pooh”.

A less common type of an “inspired by” authenticity is through crossover figures, who are real people that inspired fictional ones, or alternatively real people that appear in literature. Ashdown Forest has a clear example of a crossover figure in the form of Christopher Robin, who exists both as a real person and as a character in the Winnie-the-Pooh books. Milne’s son Christopher Robin inspired the character and his son’s toys inspired most of the animal characters in the stories. The fact that Christopher played in Ashdown Forest as a child connects visitors both to the true story of the author who was inspired by his son playing in the forest, and to the fictional story of a boy and his animal friends that lived in the forest.

Green Gables Heritage Place contains the possibility for crossover figures, as many parallels have been drawn between L. M. Montgomery and her character Anne, and David and Margaret

Macneill, the brother and sister who originally lived at the house that inspired Green Gables, are thought to have inspired the characters of Matthew and Marilla Cuthbert. However, these connections are not widely expressed at the site, perhaps to maintain a separation between the fictional and factual elements of the site (as discussed in Chapter IV) or because they were never confirmed by the author.

The Sherlock Holmes Museum subtly features a few minor crossover figures. One is a photograph of Queen Victoria, who is a real historical figure but also exists in the books, and whose initials V.R. (Victoria Regina) are spelled in bullet holes on the wall. Additionally, there are photographs of real murderers from the Victorian age on the wall in Holmes's room. In the books Holmes keeps photographs of contemporary murders on his wall, two of which, Charles "Charlie" Peace and Henry Wainwright were mentioned by name (Conan Doyle 2009, p. 987), therefore the inclusion of the photographs simultaneously maintains fictional authenticity based on the books, and grounds the museum in a sense of historical reality.

Conclusion

Authenticity is a difficult concept to apply, not only for setting-based literary heritage sites, but for all heritage sites, and even heritage in general. Opening up understandings of authenticity to include constructed and variable meanings allows for the inclusion of more diverse forms of heritage, but also presents problems by making it harder to identify what heritage is. Setting-based heritage sites can project authenticity by creating fictional authenticity, by obtaining authorized authenticity or imitating it, by including elements of objective historical authenticity, or by bridging the literature and the physical site through the inspiration of the author, including

the site itself and crossover figures related to the site. These “authenticities” remain removed from most current understandings of authenticity, however, their promotion shows there is a desire on the part of site management, visitors, and even sometimes authorizing bodies to maintain some sense of authenticity at these sites.

Several authors, including Garden have proposed moving away from using authenticity as an identifying feature of heritage sites (Garden 2009, p. 288). As understandings of authenticity move away from a single, measurable definition, it seems increasingly valid not to let traditional definitions of authenticity define heritage. However, this analysis shows that even at sites that are the most far removed from understandings of objective authenticity, alternate versions of authenticity continue to be promoted and presented as something important.

Chapter VII: Conclusion

Setting-based literary heritage sites offer specific challenges and insights into the heritage-making process. They are valued for their connections with fictional settings, both in official and unofficial ways, however this fictional connection sets them apart from traditional understandings of heritage sites. Analysing the particular nature of these places as heritage sites, therefore, brings up new dimensions of the heritagescape as it is commonly understood. Literary heritagescapes are each tasked with enabling the experience of a fictional setting, however as analysis of my three case studies have shown, there exists a lot of variety and diversity even within the category of setting-based literary heritage sites.

The Sherlock Holmes Museum represents a setting-based literary heritage site that is entirely constructed and heavily curated. As with most heritagescapes, the aspects of the tangible site and the interpretive elements work towards a singular sense of place, and though the sense of place is fictional in this case, the techniques that are used are very similar to those used in historic homes and museums. By giving physical form to aspects from the books, visitors can feel more connected to the literature, just as historic artefacts can connect visitors to the past. While Garden places a lot of emphasis on elements that draw visitors out of their immersion, such as ropes and barriers (2004; 2006; 2009), at literary sites such as The Sherlock Holmes Museum it is the aspects that immerse visitors into a sense of place that are more important than the elements that supposedly draw visitors out of immersion. In fact, the ropes and barriers do not fully break visitors from their immersion and can even lend more credibility to the site, as visitors are used to these types of visual cues at museums and other sites. The Sherlock Holmes

Museum, as an urban heritage site, has well defined boundaries that separate the highly curated immersive experience within the physical boundaries of the site from the modern city outside. Ironically, though this is the site with the least biographical connection to the author and based on common understandings of authenticity is the least authentic site, it is the easiest site to examine as a heritagescape. Because this site cannot draw from a real connection with the author since the literature predates it, the site projects authenticity on a site level as much as possible by using a building, furnishings and objects from the historic period of the books, by presenting itself as authorized through imitation and promotion, and by representing and drawing attention to details and objects accurate to descriptions from the literature.

Green Gables Heritage Place represents a site that has a mix of original and constructed elements and interprets both the literature and the biography of the author. This site best represents the many possible layers of meaning that setting-based literary heritage sites often have to deal with by containing fictional, biographical, and historical elements. This site is able to balance fictional and biographical immersion by creating unspoken boundaries within the site that transition visitors from the biography of the author to interpretation of the literature. This is unique to literary heritage sites, but the general concept of balancing multiple senses of place also has application at heritage sites that interpret more than one time period, for example at Fort Edmonton Historical Park which recreates the city of Edmonton from different periods of its history. At the Green Gables House portion of the site, fictional authenticity is prioritized over recreating how the house truly looked historically. This fictional authenticity has value placed on it not only by the visitors and managers of the site, but it has been authorized through distinctions that are traditionally reserved for historical sites. Green Gables Heritage Place also represents

how literary heritage sites can be formed into networks of sites, as is seen with the popularity of literary tours and the combination of literary sites in marketing.

Ashdown Forest represents a natural setting-based literary heritage site with minimal on-site interpretation. At this site, immersion is left to a large extent up to the visitor. This allows visitors to have more control over their experience based on their own knowledge and interests, however this approach means that the literary heritage at the site can be easily missed. This site has loose and malleable boundaries whereby the literary aspect of the site is represented through hotspots of connection between the imaginary places in the literature and the real places at the site. These hotspots can be combined in different ways at the site depending on visitor motivation and knowledge. Because the site is confirmed as the author's inspiration, and due to the crossover effect of Christopher Robin having played in the forest as a real person and as a character, authenticity can be created through the connections between the physical site and its fictional counterpart. The limited construction and interpretation at the site and legitimate connections between the real and fictional places as inspiration for the author make this site the most traditionally authentic by genuinely being what it presents itself to be. However, by taking this approach, the responsibility for creating meaning and a sense of place lies primarily with the visitor and the heritage value can be easily overlooked.

Setting-based literary heritage sites differ from typical understandings of heritage, but analysing them and gaining a better understanding of how they function as heritage sites opens the door for new conceptions of how heritage is created and interpreted. Heritage ultimately arises from what is valued, and as literature and literary sites continue to provide connection and meaning to

communities, to nations, and to people, setting-based literary heritage sites should be included in further research into the nature of heritage sites.

Bibliography

- Amey, E. (2015), *On a Quest For Authenticity to an Imaginary Place: A Narrative Analysis of the Experiences of British Literary Tourists*. Pro gradu thesis, University of Lapland.
- Ashdown Forest (2019) *What's On at the Ashdown Forest Centre 2019*. [Pamphlet obtained <https://www.ashdownforest.org/downloads/docs/eventsleafletfront2019.pdf>], 25 August 2019.
- Benjamin, W. (1969) 'The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction', Translated by Harry Zohn, from the 1935 essay, in Arendt, H. *Illuminations*. New York: Schocken Books.
- Bhadury, P. (2011) 'Fictional Spaces, Contested Images: *Anne's* "Authentic" Afterlife', *Children's Literature Association Quarterly*, Vol. 36, No. 2, pp. 214-237.
- Bom, A. K. (2015) 'Where fiction really exists: The staging and experience of authenticity in the literary icon-city', *Aktuel forskning ved Institut for Litteratur, Kultur og Medier*, pp. 85-97.
- Booksource (2019a) *Anne of Green Gables*. Available at: https://www.booksource.com/Products/Anne-Of-Green-Gables__0451528824.aspx (Accessed 28 August 2019).
- Booksource (2019b) *The Adventures of Sherlock Holmes*. Available at: https://www.booksource.com/Products/Adventures-Of-Sherlock-Holmes--The_0486474917.aspx?FromSearch=True (Accessed 28 August 2019).
- Booksource (2019c) *Winnie the Pooh*. Available at: https://www.booksource.com/Products/Winnie-The-Pooh_0140361219.aspx?FromSearch=True (Accessed 28 August 2019).
- Boorstin, D. J. (1961). *The image: a guide to pseudo-events in America*. New York: Harper & Row.
- Brouse, C. (2002), 'The Maud Squad', in Lefebvre, B. (ed). *The L. M. Montgomery Reader: Volume Two: A Critical Heritage*. Toronto; Buffalo; London: University of Toronto Press, pp. 291-304.
- Bruner, E. M. (1994) 'Abraham Lincoln as Authentic Reproduction: a Critique of Postmodernism', *American Anthropologist*, New Series, Vol. 96, No. 2, pp. 397-415.
- Cohen, E. (1988) 'Authenticity and Commoditization in Tourism', *Annals of Tourism Research*, Vol. 15, pp. 371-386.
- Cohen, E. and Cohen, S. A. (2012) 'Authentication: Hot and Cool', *Annals of Tourism Research*, 39(3), pp. 1295-1314. DOI: 10.1016/j.annals.2012.03.004

Conan Doyle, A. (2009) 'The Case Book of Sherlock Holmes' in *The Penguin Complete Sherlock Holmes*. London: Penguin Books.

The Conservators of Ashdown Forest (n.d.) *Gills Lap*. [Sign located at the Gills Lap Parking Lot in Ashdown Forest], Viewed 2 May 2019.

Cooper, P, Marriott, M. and Brooker, D. (n.d.) *Pooh Walks From Gills Lap*. [Pamphlet obtained from the Ashdown Forest Centre], 2 May 2019.

Curtis, J. (1985) 'The most Famous Fence in the World', *Landscape*, 28, pp. 8-14.

Duncan, A. (2009). *Close to Holmes: A Look at the Connections Between Historical London, Sherlock Holmes and Sir Arthur Conan Doyle*. MX Publishing. ISBN 1-904312-50-0.

Eagle, D. and Carnell, H. (1977) *The Oxford Literary Guide to the British Isles*. Oxford: The Clarendon Press.

English Heritage (n.d.) *About Blue Plaques*. Available at: <https://www.english-heritage.org.uk/visit/blue-plaques/about-blue-plaques/> (Accessed 28 August 2019).

Fawcett, C. and Cormack, P. (2001) 'Guarding authenticity at literary tourism sites', *Annals of Tourism Research*, 28(3), pp. 686–704.

Garden, M-C. (2004), *The Heritagescape: Exploring the Phenomenon of the Heritage Site*. Doctoral, University of Cambridge.

Garden, M-C. (2006) 'The Heritagescape: Looking at Landscapes of the Past', *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 12:5, pp. 394-411. DOI: 10.1080/13527250600821621

Garden, M-C. (2009) 'The heritagescape: looking at heritage sites', in Stig Sørensen, M. L. and Carmen, J. (eds.) *Heritage Studies : Methods and Approaches*. Routledge, pp. 270-291.

Gfeller, A. E. (2017) 'The Authenticity of Heritage: Global Norm-Making at the Crossroads of Cultures', *American Historical Review*, 122 (3), pp. 758-791. DOI:10.1093/ahr/122.3.758.

Gothie, S. C. (2016) 'Playing "Anne": Red braids, Green Gables, and literary tourists on Prince Edward Island', *Tourist Studies*, Vol. 16(4), pp. 405-421.

Herbert, D. T. (2001) 'Literary Places, Tourism and the Heritage Experience', *Annals of Tourism Research*, Vol. 28, No. 2, pp. 312-333.

Hoppen, A., Brown, L. and Fyall, A. (2014) 'Literary tourism: Opportunities and challenges for the marketing and branding of destinations?', *Journal of Destination Marketing & Management*, 3, pp. 37-47.

- Johnson, N. C. (2004) 'Fictional Journeys: paper landscapes, tourist trails and Dublin's literary texts', *Social & Cultural Geography*, Vol. 5, No. 1, pp. 91-107.
- Jones (2009), 'Experiencing authenticity at heritage sites: some implications for heritage management and conservation', *Conservation and Management of Archaeological Sites*, Vol. 11, No.2, pp. 133-147. DOI: 10.1179/175355210X12670102063661
- Le Bel, P-M. (2017) 'Literary Heritage and Place Building for Communities: the Case of Allier, France', *Journal of Tourism, Culture and Territorial Development*, Almatourism Special Issue N.7, pp. 54-74. <https://doi.org/10.6092/issn.2036---5195/6755>
- Lowenthal, D. (1985) *The Past is a Foreign Country*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Lowenthal, D. (1998) *The Heritage Crusade and the Spoils of History*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- MacCannell, D. (1973) 'Staged Authenticity: Arrangements of Social Space in Tourist Settings', *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 79, No. 3, pp. 589-603.
- MacLeod, A. (2010) 'On the Road from Bright River: Shifting Social Space in *Anne of Green Gables*' in Gammel, I. and Lefebvre, B. (eds.) *Anne's World: A New Century of Anne of Green Gables*. University of Toronto Press, pp. 134-149.
- McIntosh, A. and Prentice, R. (1999) 'Affirming authenticity: Consuming Cultural Heritage', *Annals of Tourism Research*, 26(3), pp. 589-612.
- McLaughlin, D. (2016) 'The Game's Afoot: Walking as Practice in Sherlockian Literary Geographies', *Literary Geographies*, 2(2), pp.144-163.
- Nora, P. (1989) 'Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Mémoire', *Representations*, No. 26, Special Issue: Memory and Counter-Memory, pp.7-24.
- Orr, A. (2018) 'Plotting Jane Austen: heritage sites as fictional worlds in the literary tourist's imagination', *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 24:3, pp. 243-255, DOI: 10.1080/13527258.2017.1378911
- Parks Canada (2011) "Commemorative Integrity Statement for L. M. Montgomery's Cavendish National Historic Site of Canada," Internal document (Draft). Parks Canada, Prince Edward Island National Park.
- Pliny (1900) *Pliny the Younger: Letters*. Translated by J.B. Firth. Attalus.
- Pocock, D. (1987) 'Haworth: The Experience of Literary Place' in Mallory, W and Simpson-Housley, P. (eds.) *Geography and Literature: A Meeting of the Disciplines*. Syracuse: Syracuse University Press.

- Pocock, D. (1992) 'Catherine Cookson Country: Tourist Expectation and Experience', *Geography*, Vol. 77, No. 3, pp. 236-243.
- Reijnders, S. (2010) 'Places of the imagination: an ethnography of the TV detective tour', *Cultural Geographies*, 17(1), pp. 37-52.
- Robinson, M. and Andersen, H.C. (2002) 'Introduction' in Robinson, M and Andersen, H.C. (eds.) *Literature and Tourism: Essays in the Reading and Writing of Tourism*. London: Continuum International Publishing Group.
- Saretzki, A. (2013) 'Literary Trails, Urban Space and the Actualization of Heritage', *Journal of Tourism, Culture and Territorial Development*, Almatourism N.8, pp. 61-77.
- The Sherlock Holmes Museum (n.d.b) *The Sherlock Holmes Museum*. Available at: <http://www.sherlock-holmes.co.uk/> (Accessed 28 August 2019).
- The Sherlock Holmes Museum (n.d.a) *The Sherlock Holmes Museum*. [Pamphlet obtained at the Sherlock Holmes Museum], 16 February 2019.
- The Sherlock Holmes Pub (n.d.) *The Study at 221B Baker Street*. [Sign outside of "The Study at 221B Baker Street"] Viewed 16 February 2019.
- Smith, L. (2006) *Uses of Heritage*. London; New York: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group.
- Stamp, J. (2012) *The Mystery of 221B Baker Street*. Available at <https://www.smithsonianmag.com/arts-culture/the-mystery-of-221b-baker-street-3608784/> (Accessed 28 August 2019).
- Stiebel, L. (2004) 'Hitting the hot spots: Literary tourism as a research field with particular reference to KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa', *Critical Arts*, 18(2), pp. 31-44, DOI: 10.1080/02560240485310151
- Tetley, S. (1998) *Visitor attitudes to authenticity at a literary tourist destination*. Doctoral, Sheffield Hallam University.
- Trilling, L. (1972) *Sincerity and Authenticity*. London: Oxford University Press.
- Tye, D. (1994) 'Multiple meanings called Cavendish: The interactions of tourism with traditional culture', *Journal of Canadian Studies*, Vol. 29, No. 1, pp. 122-134.
- UNESCO et al. (1993) *The Nara Document On Authenticity*. Lemaire, R and Stovel, H (eds).
- UNESCO (2000) *Meeting on Authenticity and Integrity in an African Context*. Available at: <https://whc.unesco.org/en/events/443/> (Accessed 28 August 2019).

UNESCO (n.d.a) *The Criteria for Selection*. Available at: <https://whc.unesco.org/en/criteria/> (Accessed 28 August 2019).

UNESCO (n.d.b) *Creative Cities Network*. Available at: <https://en.unesco.org/creative-cities/creative-cities-map> (Accessed 28 August 2019).

Wang, N. (1999) 'Rethinking Authenticity in Tourism Experience', *Annals of Tourism Research*, Vol. 26, No.2, pp. 349-370.

Zhu, Y. (2012) 'Performing Heritage: Rethinking Authenticity in Tourism', *Annals of Tourism Research*, Vol. 39, No.3, pp. 1495-1513.